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was given for Sapirosch, a female infant of about a year, or a little more, and Linga, a little girl of about three years of age, both of the hamlet of Penguli. It was a joint feast for the two given by their respective parents, and had been postponed because Ladawin, who is a potential and the preferred mate for Sapirosch, has been absent at the distant village of Karu. Sapirosch is the daughter of Ladawin's cross-cousin, which makes her his preferred mate. Whether they marry or not, they call each other by the term for husband and wife, *tumbo* and *malis*. Upon his return to Lesu preparations for the feast, which will be held the next day, are begun. The men of the hamlet go fishing and prepare their catch, and the women bring in taro from their gardens and prepare it to be baked in the *liga*. The next day the feast is held. The men eat in the cemetery. All the Hawk men eat the food prepared by the Eagle women, and they are in some subtle way supposed to be eating with Sapirosch, who is Eagle. Similarly, the Eagle men eat the food prepared by the Hawk women, and are supposed to be eating with Linga, who is Hawk. The feast is not taken too seriously. It is called *oning tsnintset*, literally eat play, i.e. a playful feast. The Hawk men say playfully to Sapirosch, "Why have you not prepared food for us, when you have already shown us your vulva?" The Eagle men say the same to Linga. Theoretically, all the men of the opposite moiety are possible mates for the two little girls, and the feast is held for all of them, but it is particularly for those who stand in the relationship of the preferred mate.

While the men are eating in the cemetery, the women eat more casually on the beach. The Eagle women eat the food prepared by the Hawk women, and *vice versa*.[1]

It is not only through the performance of the proper rites and by feeding and caring for the infant that the duties of

[1] I was told that a similar feast was held for the possible mates of a little boy, but none was held during my visit.

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and sisters, between whom a semi-taboo relationship begins at puberty. But although there is no demonstration of affection between them, in childhood real brothers and sisters play together.

The real force of taboo relationships does not make itself felt until after puberty. The most important of these, as has been indicated, are the cross-cousin relationships, that is, between a girl and her mother's brother's son and her father's sister's son. At the same time that the child learns the personal names of other relatives, he learns that personal names in this cross-cousin relationship must never be spoken, and that the term *koko* (the diminutive of *korup*) is used instead. He sees the avoidance between the adults who stand in this relationship, and he, too, avoids his *koko*, although perhaps not quite so actively as do the adults. Thus a child sees his father leave the compound when the maternal grandmother comes to visit them. Since the children spend most of their time on the outskirts of the adult world, they have full opportunity to observe patterns of behaviour between taboo and other relatives, as well as to learn how to scrape taro and handle the fishing-net.

Education here is for the most part a subtle process. From infancy, children are bystanders in the adult world. Wherever the adults are gathered, there also are the children, watching them as they perform their tasks, assisting in them within their strength, and listening to the conversations, on which there are no bars because of the presence of children. Obscene stories, scandal, gossip of all kinds, are repeated openly before children of all ages. There is one exception, and this is not a matter of age but of kinship; a mother does not discuss her sexual life before her daughter, whether that daughter be a tot of five or a middle-aged woman. She will talk about her sexual life before other women, and she will discuss another woman's sexual life before her daughter, but not her own *affaires du cœur*. She gives as her reason that she is

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ashamed.[1] As far as I could ascertain, I think the same kind of shame exists between a father and his son, but I did not have the opportunity of investigating this matter fully, because I was so much more with the women than with the men in the casual, everyday, gossipy life, which is the time when this type of observation could best be made.

INSTRUCTION IN FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS

One aspect of the child's education is not so subtle. Definite instruction is given in the telling of folk-tales and myths. Sometimes the children may learn them casually as they sit around the campfires at night with the adults, but to assure the children's real knowledge of this folk literature, there is a period lasting three or four weeks during which the adult males and females tell the children tales at night around the fire. A feast marks the completion of this period for the relation of folk tales. The tales are very much in the nature of Aesop's Fables, in that many of them point a moral. Etiquette, taboos, customs, are all illustrated in these narratives, as is also the punishment for those who break taboos and customs. The best illustrations are some of the tales themselves. The following are a few:

> An old woman tells her two grandchildren not to take a certain path. She points to it and says: "This is not a good path. You must not go on it. There are bananas on this path and they are ripe, but you must not eat them." Then she points to another path as the one the children are to take.
>
> The next day the old woman sends the two children for some water and again reminds them that they are not to take the taboo path. But the children walk down

[1] In our own society most parents do not like to discuss their sex interests with their own children. The question of whether this is a universal characteristic between parents and children is for further investigation.

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inside the leaf is also supposed to be the shark's spirit, or *tanuan beii*. 226 789

Now he crouches again in front of the stone and puts both hands to his breast, one hand clasps the folded leaf and the other the shell; he rises slowly, sinks down again, and then sways slowly from side to side, still with bent knees, and says the following spell:

(suppose) I come up along passag
you (shark) come up
I am ready with rope you come up
I come up to the tree, you come up
(tree sticking up in water)
I come up to (name of big fish not shark)
you come up
I come up to sea bird, you come up
(suppose) sun comes up, you come up
(suppose) I come up to little trees
you come up

Then, still with his hands in the same position, he turns around and goes through a queer dancing step with bent legs.

The shell and the folded leaf are put in the canoe, and it is thought that the spirit shark, *tanuan beii*, is in the leaf, and thus accompanies him on the fishing trip.

Now he paddles out in the canoe. When he comes to the point of land jutting out to the sea he takes a previously prepared leaf and says a spell over it. The leaf is the *goragora* leaf, and inside of it is a *wula* leaf and a small stalk two or three inches long from a banana tree. The *wula* leaf represents the vagina and the banana stalk a penis, or rather they are supposed to be the spirit or *tanuan* of the vagina and penis, and these being wrapped together inside the leaf symbolize the act of copulation. The magician takes this small leaf bundle, says a spell 226 789 831

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226 789 831 over it, dips it into the sea, passes it between his legs under his testicles, and then "drinks" it. After this he throws it away. The "drinking" is supposed to rid him of the bad effects of taking food from a pregnant woman or of having eaten with one.[1] The spell contains the wish that many fish come up.

226 789 Now the magician paddles for some time and prepares the rope of the *kut*, to catch a shark. He also takes with him in the canoe the red leaf, *bang*. He dives from the canoe into the water and washes himself, to take away any dirt, and then, standing up in the water and holding on to the canoe with one hand, and with the leaf *bang* in the other, he recites the following spell:

Leaf (make shark) die
leaf (shark) you come up
leaf send shark
(this addressed to the spirit shark).

Then he throws the leaf into the sea and gets back into the canoe. Now he continues paddling. A shark is seen and the man gives the call *tsitsitsi*, then takes a dead fish fastened on a bamboo rod (a fish caught the day before and taken with him in the canoe) and puts the line with the fish on the end through the loop of the rope of the *kut*. He calls out "lauat," the name of the small head of the shark on the shell, but the shark does not rise to the bait and remains uncaught for the present. Then the man takes the *tsil* leaf which he has put into the canoe, dives overboard again and washes

[1] Note that most of the magic connected with shark-fishing is designed to get rid of the bad effect of eating with pregnant women or accepting food from them. I asked the magician why he eats with them, or takes food from them. He replied that it could not be helped. In casually strolling about the village one gives him a betel-nut, another a baked taro, etc. The magic is not supposed to make this food come out as faeces, but to remove the bad effect.

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154 he is very much scared; he manages to free himself of the snake.

That the dreamer is trying to catch someone who is running away and to whom he never catches up.

That the dreamer is dancing.

That the dreamer climbs to the top of a tree, falls down, and dies. (This is a common form of suicide.)

That the dreamer is eaten by a pig.

That the dreamer (a man) kills another man, and that he then bathes in the sea and is eaten by a fish.

That his dead mother comes back and talks to him and says how she likes to look at him once more.

That the dreamer is embracing a person of the opposite sex.

That he is going to the island of Tabar in a canoe.

That he is standing on his head.

That he kills a phalanger.

That the dreamer is eating taro.

That the dreamer (a woman) is planting taro.

That the dreamer (a woman) is preparing the taro to be baked.

That the dreamer (a woman) is on the top of a tree by the sea.

Dream of a dead child.

Of the above dreams a man or woman is not ashamed, and an informant talked freely of them to me. However, I gather that for some reason, which I was unable to learn, the natives do not talk much about any dream to each other. On the surface, it would seem that they are just not interested in dreams, and also that they do not dream so very frequently, or do not remember them. However, these points would bear further investigation.

OBSCENITY

83 578 Insulting terms and obscene phrases used in quarrels are frequently concerned with the forbidden incestuous relationship and with relationship with pigs. The very worst expression you can fling at a man is *Umba kigi no matonga* (you copulate with your sister). Only a little bit less insulting is *Umba kigi no nangga* (you copulate with your mother). Very insulting also, and just a trifle less so, is the taunt

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Umba kigi no bul (you copulate with pig). If the first insult, the one concerned with the sister, is used, the man so taunted would feel obliged to kill his sister, but not the man who flung the taunt. But he does not kill his mother nor a pig, if taunts are made concerning them. Almost as insulting, but not quite in the same class, is *Umba oning tega tsinu bul* (you eat the faeces of the pig). This is considered a most humiliating taunt, and the incident occurs frequently in quarrels in folk-tales.[1]

Other obscene expressions used in angry quarrels refer directly to the sexual organs. Such expressions are: *Konum toktok* (red vagina), *Konum pung* (black vagina), *Konum wunwung* (open vagina), *Umba a lut* (you big penis), *Jitisit* (referring to the act of copulation). Another expression, *Umba bol* (you pig), is in the category of obscenity, although of a different nature. None of these expressions are used in everyday conversation, but are heard only when a person loses his temper in an angry quarrel. They appear to have a similar function to profanity and obscenity used in quarrels in our society, and serve as an outlet for the speaker's emotion. The above phrases are never used to be funny, or as part of a clever obscene story. They are meant as insults. In general one may refer to sexual matters quite openly in conversation, but one may not refer to the sexual life of a man in front of his sister or cross-cousin, or *vice versa*. That would be considered very shameful, and to a minor degree the same kind of shame is felt before an *onga* (sister's husband). There is one old man, Towi, however, who, contrary to all traditions, frequently refers to the sexual organs of a man whose sister is present. This man is then

[1] One tale tells how a woman and child were sitting on top of a *ilini* tree, and how, when the child defecated, the mother threw the faeces down on a man named Runatumna who was standing under the tree. He was so angry that he killed and ate the woman and child.

This is just one of many tales in which the throwing of faeces is regarded as a deadly insult.

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831 578 so ashamed that he has to make a payment of *tsera* to the sister who has heard Towi's remarks. The payment seems to be a sort of compensation. Now Towi appears to think he is funny in talking like this, but no one else appreciates the fun. All the men are rather disgusted with him, who, they tell me, has had the habit ever since he was quite young. His brother Ballock follows him in this habit, but not to the same degree.

831 539 Various myths and folk-tales already given illustrate several of the points under discussion. Others, too, have a sexual significance.

A man tells his wife that he is going fishing. He goes to the beach and puts his penis in the water. Then he comes back and eats with his wife. The next morning he goes to the beach again and his penis falls down into the water. (Laughter from the audience at this point of the tale.) Then the man stands in the shallow water and says: *Tnginidol tnginidol* (penis remain in sea). The penis is left in the water, and the man returns to the house. He lies to his wife and says he is ill.

The next day the man tells his wife to go to the garden while he goes fishing. The woman, who suspects something, pretends to go to the garden, but hides and follows her husband to the beach. He stands up again in the shallow water where his penis is and repeats the phrase *Tnginidol tnginidol*, and goes away. The wife has heard it, and after the man leaves she takes the penis out of the water, carries it home, and bakes it with a bundle of taro wrapped in a banana leaf.

Later the man goes to the beach and cannot find his penis. He cries out: "Who has taken my penis? By and by I will want to copulate and then my wife will see that I have no penis."

He goes home, and his wife gives him the bundle of

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taro which contains the penis. He does not recognize it, and eats it with the taro. Then his wife says: "You eat your penis!"

The husband: "What's that you're saying?"

The wife: "Oh, nothing; I am talking about the pigs."

The husband persists: "What's that you're saying?"

The wife: "You have eaten your own penis. Before you lied to me. You said you were going fishing, and instead you left your penis in the water. Now you've just finished eating it."

The man is furious and kills his wife. Then a big feast is made for her.

The origin myth from Medina (in another linguistic unit of New Ireland) might also have a phallic significance. Marruni is considered to be the original creator of society, and his name signifies earthquake.[1] He appears to have caused or come as a volcanic eruption, and is the source of all knowledge for the Medina people as Tsenabonpil is for the Lesu people.[2]

Marruni had the body of a man, but an exceptionally long tail, resembling a snake. He had two wives, who, it seems, were normal women. It was taboo for them to look at his tail, and when he sat down he dug a big hole in the ground and the tail went inside the hole and he sat down on top of the hole. When the wives went to their garden in the bush the tail came out and circled around a big area; then when the wives returned they would call out and the tail would go into the hole again. One day the wives returned and did not call out as they approached, so when they came up to Marruni

[1] In the Lesu language the name for earthquake is *tebucata*.

[2] See page 34.

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831 539 they saw his tail. Marruni was both cross and ashamed, and said that they must go back to their own place. They went back to their village on one of the Tabar islands, where they stayed and later died.

Marruni remained in New Ireland. He cut his tail into segments and gave to each segment the name of the clan, and from this came the people of the clans. Also some segments were marked as birds, snakes, fish, pigs, etc. Some segments he threw into the sea, and these became the fish. Others he threw away into the bush, and these are the bush animals.

Marruni came from Tabar, the village of Moari on Tsimberi, and the *malanggan* rites came from there too. He brought with him from this place both the magic and *malanggan* rites.

Myth of Stone that ran away to Tabar

This myth concerns a stone, part of which is still on the beach in front of the hamlet Tarengam.

In the past this stone was very much bigger than it is now. Formerly when the women returned from their gardens they would put their straw petticoats on this stone (*tmuhlik*) and then go to wash in the sea. This was done every day. The stone was very cross because it did not like having the petticoats on top of it. The stone was ashamed because the petticoats belonged to the buttocks of the women and stank. Finally the stone could stand it no longer and ran away to Tabar. But part of the stone remained behind.

From that time on the women put their petticoats on the sand.

Another Tale of a Woman who comes from a Man's Blood

There was a man who lived in the bush village of Lenopil. He was clearing his garden when he cut his

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hand, and the blood from the cut ran over a coconut shell, which he put by the fire near the door to dry. From the blood comes a girl. At first he does not see her, then he sees her standing in the doorway. From that time on they stop together, and the man gives her food.

The man has two brothers who live near by. They go to get fire from their brother and see the girl there. They come back to their house, discuss the girl, and later purposely make the fire die several times in order to have an excuse to go to the brother house and get fire and so see the girl. They do this many times. Finally the man asks: "Why do you come? Do you want to marry the girl? If you marry her you must cook for her, not she for you. She is not a true woman. She came up from my blood." The brothers say Yes, they will marry her.

The girl now goes to the home of the two brothers. They go to the bush to kill a *kapun* and tell the girl to cook. She cooks good food.

Then she sings a ditty near a hole in the ground:

Kandei dil aro
Calls out name of husbands.

Nunguaura roarimani leru rare rare
I came from the blood of my relative.

The husbands in the bush hear the singing and come back. The girl continues singing, adding that by and by she will fall down the hole along the ground. She then falls down the hole and dies. Then the man from whose blood she came was very cross with his two brothers. He locked them inside the house, set fire to it, and they were burned to death[1]

[1] Note that in this and the other similar tale of a woman emerging from the man's blood (see p. 251) the woman was not his wife, but considered one of his same totemic clan.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

A large number of the apparently sterile women are very old. The usual reply to a question concerning the lack of children is that the bearing of children is a burden which interferes with the efficiency of women in garden and road work, or the oft repeated, "laze along push push", one suggesting deliberate abortion, and the other lack of desire.

APATHY.

We are dealing with a people who have been profoundly upset by the coming of European settlement, which during the first few years rudely interrupted local conditions of life, and practically withdrew the majority of able-bodied males and many females of reproductive age from the villages, and continued to drain the population of its best blood year after year. The old German methods of uniting the stocks meant, in effect, that bush people and coastal people were deprived of their racial and social individuality, and compelled to live more or less on one another's ground, thus perforce losing the very characteristics that make for group stability. By the land alienation that took place during these years, natives found themselves being gradually pushed into corners here and there by the ever-expanding European settlement. The road work and other uses to which the relatively few remaining able-bodied men were put left small time for gardening and other native occupations. On top of these disturbing influences came the Mission with its new cultures. Pressure was brought to bear on all practices having the slightest resemblance to European standards of immorality. The natives who led an active sexual life with more or less promiscuity, in which they were constantly stimulated by various dances that gave incentive to and opportunity for sexual expression, now heard that their most natural and spontaneous activities were things of which to be ashamed, unless regulated in accordance with the standards taught by the Mission. As a prominent headman said to me, "the romance, excitement, and adventure of sex have gone. Always the native teachers speak of it in church and school as a thing of shame. Before, men and women gratified their desires when and where they found them. Now, to go into the bush with your lover is to be publicly shamed. The Missions say to the people who are married, 'You must have more children', but how can there be children without sex life, and how can there be sex life without sex play. Our night dances are practically forbidden, romance and adventure now appear to be sins, and the boys and girls are ashamed, and have no desire ('laze along, push push')."

There is no doubt that in olden days the native ceremonial and social life stimulated considerable sexual freedom. In many places women were permitted to have lovers who were to a certain extent recognized socially, and who contributed payments to the husband.